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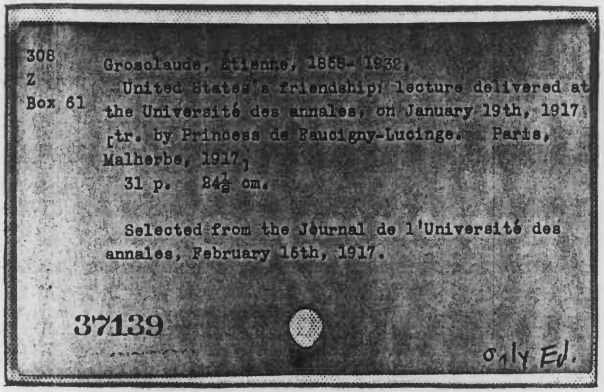

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UNITED STATES'S FRIENDSHIP

(Translated by

Princess de FAUCIGNY-LUCINGE)

by ETIENNE GROSCLAUDE

UNITED STATES'S FRIENDSHIP

Lecture delivered at the Université des Annales

on January 19th 1917

by

ETIENNE GROSCLAUDE

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have just discovered America.

I know quite well that I am not the only one to have done so ·

In the first place, there has been Christophus Columbus, but that is in the past ages.

There are also, since some time, a quantity of people who, like myself, have undertaken the discovery of America ! The tale of their discoveries finds place daily in newspapers, periodicals, or even lectures like the one you are going to hear with a forbearance for which I am deeply grateful.

Those pioneers are mostly men of good-will whose taste for travelling the government has made use of in sending them on far-away missions. What was the object of those missions ? I think it was precisely to discover America.

Well ! I must make before you a candid avowal : I went to America without any mission ; I have discovered this country on my own accord, freely. I am what might be called an individuality without any official qualification. I am rather embarrassed to have to own this. On the other hand I enjoy the benefit of a large freedom of speech which I greatly appreciate..... I will not misuse it. The matter is delicate at the present time when so many notes are sent from one government to another ; therefore rather than running the risks of an unprepared extempore speech,

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This lecture was delivered at the " University des Annales " on January 19th. On account of its interpretation of President Wilson's statements and of the formulated foretelling of an imminent breach of relations between United-States and Germany, about the submarine warfare, we will point out that President Wilson's note, inquiring about the belligerent power's war aims, is dated of December 19th , the allied answer of January 11th, the President's message about Peace without victory of January 22nd, the german note announcing the sinking of neutral vessels without warning of February 1st and the breach of diplomatic relations of February 3rd.

I deemed wiser to make note of my observations and of the conclusions thereon, despite the knowledge of many possible mistakes... exactly like the diplomats. Now you are warned.

This conference will therefore be what is called on the other side of the Pond, a lecture. But, let me beforehand give you hastily a few preliminary indications, for I have only an hour in which to tell you all the things I wish to tell you.

Well, I have discovered America — like everyone else.

This does not mean that, during the journey, I thought I was Christophus Columbus, or even one of those conquistadors deccribed by José-Maria de Heredia in one of his most beautiful sonnets :

When... leaning over the prow of the whiie caravel
They watched the new stars rising (1).

In our days, when the sailors lean over the prow of the caravels painted in dullgrey which go across the Ocean, it is no longer to look at the rising stars, but at... the periscopes.

I must add that they do not see them as often as one might think when one hears almost daily of torpedoed ships.

In fact we have escaped being torpedoed and even shot upon. We had a gun aboard. It was used only for the trials tat he start. We were drilled to slip on our cork-belts or rubber-waistcoats, some of which are quite smart, and get into the boats and rescuing rafts. All this was rather picturesque — and just a wee bit thrilling, — especially for those of the passengers who were sea-sick.

Nevertheless we reached harbour safely ; I am glad to be able to give you proof of this fact.

You laughed a short while ago when I told you we had just discovered America. It is nevertheless quite true, for America is a country which one discovers every day because it is ever new.

It is a country which is developing daily. If you look askance a moment you will find it has grown and altered during this short space of time.

For instance, New-York City is always being built and rebuilt. You know it is the principle of Americans to make something new for ever and ever. On the industrial lines, as soon as they find a new apparatus which gives a better output produce than the one in use, they adopt it at once and put the other one aside, among a heap of rubbish, in the « scrap » as they call it. It is not a country

(1) « Quand... penchés à l'avant des blanches caravelles
Ils regardaient monter des étoiles nouvelles. »

of « cobblers », when their shoes are out of wear they do not have new soles put on, they buy a new pair.

They are always pulling houses down and rebuilding them, and altering the streets, with the result that the appearance of this wonderful city is altered almost daily. A foreigner who had arrived since a few days and who was being interviewed, as is customary, on what he thought of New-York, answered : « Well, this town will perhaps be very fine when it will be finished. »

You know it is a huge town, not only in extent but also in height. I had heard of the sky-scrapers. I must say they are beyond my dreams. The arrival at New-York, when one faces the grand stone-scenery which forms whole mountains, with peaks of incredible height, is not only one of the most extraordinary, but one of the most beautiful sights on the face of the earth.

The biggest building has fifty stories. It is called the « Tower », but it is a dwelling house, filled mostly with a quantity of offices, wherefrom its name of the « Cathedral of Trade ». Besides this, in that part of the city where business reigns supreme, there are many buildings thirty-stories high.

I lunched very often in a club on the twentieth floor whence one has a lovely view of New-York Harbor. I used to go also frequently to another club where the most important men of business meet, which is called the « Bankers' Club » and is on the forty-first floor.

In the hotel my rooms were on the sixteenth floor. I thought I would suffer from dizziness at such a height, but I can assure you one gets used to it very soon : just like people who live on the plains get used to that altitude I thought after a short time that my sixteenth floor was a ground-floor (rez-de-chaussée).

Everything is on this scale in America, on a very large scale as you see, everything is huge beyond measure. In a country where the waterfall in the Bois de Boulogne is figured by the Niagara falls, some trains are over a mile long. Those are not passenger trains, but goods trains filled with coal or ore. We are badly in need of help of this kind and wish our generous American friends would send us some on one of those ferry-boats that carry whole trains across the Hudson or on the lakes.

The factories are enormous and turn out huge quantities of goods. There is an electric plant strong of five hundred thousand H. P., an electrogenous group cluster of five and thirty kilowatts.

The salaries are in proportion, and, of course, the cost of life is very high.

The fortunes reach incredible figures. An official statistic made up lately mentions over 120 citizens whose income is of over five millions francs and there are 3.824 of them who own more that 2 1/2 millions a year.

How small seems a European when one looks down at him from one of those buildings and how puny our millionnaires must seem to those milliardaires from over the seas.

This reminds me of one of Forain's drawings which you probably remember : a few well-dressed gentlemen, having a pleasant chat, notice a scarfpin belonging to one of them and made of some valuable stone. A fat gentleman among them says : I have a whole mantelpiece of that stuff at home ! without meaning to hurt the owner of the pin.

I have not said this gentleman was an American and I hasten to add that those of his compatriots I have met do not consider as a rule our scarfpins so disdainfully.

The seem to be rather shy of their excessive proportions and to wish to be forgiven for the outrageous size of their valuable fireplaces.

Thank heaven, their feelings are as great as their resources. One among them particularly is greatly honoured instead of being unknown as it is in our country i.e. gratefulness.

Would you believe that the Americans of to-day have not forgotten the time when La Fayette and a goodly number of French officers went over in order to help them to fight for their independance with a courage and a magnitude so unselfish that their memory is always alive.

An address sent from America at the beginning of the war and signed by the most important citizens, ended by the following words : « Whatever we have done in the past, whatever we can do in future, will only pay for a small part of our debt of gratefulness towards France, a debt which history cannot atone for. »

There is another feeling which is in proportion with the colossal dimensions of America (forgive me the word colossal though it is no longer a decent one to use !) it is generosity.

Furthermore there is their practicalness which makes the most of these virtue ; this means that the help Americans are giving us is as effective as their friendship is gratifying to us.

The friendship of the United-States is infinitely dear to us from a moral as well as from a material standpoint. It has been indispensable to us at difficult times. It will for a long time be necessary in many ways. It will always be desirable.

Can we reckon upon it? I am one of those who believe it firmly and who will not loose confidence in the feelings of the hale and hearty nation which was born from the love of Liberty, has grown in practising loyalty and has been foremost in the worship of Public rights ; who has shown an example of sacrifice to the extreme in a war for a just cause ; who feels only contempt for lies and all the other forms of cowardice ; who deems that the first virtue for a country as well as for individuals is loyalty to an oath; who is most faithful to another virtue which is deemed rarest of all : gratefulness. This is why America never fails on every occasion to remind us that during the dreadful time when she had to risk everything in order to save her independance, she found in France a number of brother-at-arms, brave, unselfish and enthusiastic, whose chiefs have remained popular in the Northern counties, under the great shadow of Washington.

America's friendship toward France is not a transient and frail feeling which can be destroyed by the underhanded plots of German propaganda and the hints of that ambassador who, for some time still, disgraces by his presence the capital which bears the name of the noblest representative of loyalty in history. No ! It is not enough that Count Bernstorff should just now be making love to Mr. Wilson (whose re-election he nevertheless fought against furiously through his ten millions of hyphenateds) — this is an actual fact — and that some hungry banqueters in Berlin should drink toasts to Mr. Gerard, who is sent there to notify his government's decisions concerning the submarine warfare ; it is not enough of a few interviews of the representatives of Mr. Hearst's yellow press to make us believe that the people of the United-States has suddenly forgotten its traditions, its vertus and its interests.

Count Bernstorff has taken the greatest pains in America ; he has spent out there vast sums of money — some say about a hundred millions, which is not much at the time being ; he has upset everything all over the place ; he has financed newspapers', candidates and thieves ; he has had a hand in the sinking of the *Lusitania* which he cynically predicted ; he smiled in a clever way when ammunition factories were blown up ; he has done much, one says even that he has done too much, but he has not done enough to make the greater part of the American nation cease to hate the government who has thrown humanity into the horrors of war, who has made a martyr of Belgium and brought her brave people to slavery.

Indeed, we may speak of America's friendship with confidence, we must also remember all that the sister Republic has done

for us and we will always find therein the best reasons to look towards her hopefully for ever.

Some of you, I presume think and are ready to say : undoubtedly we have many friends in the United-States, and they are most devoted friends ; they have given us numerous proofs of their brotherliness, but this is not in accordance with the attitude, at least in appearance, of the government who has just spoken to us of peace, at the very worst time and in most disobliging words, — now that Germany's interest and need is to « parley » ! How can you account for this, coming from the government of a friendly nation, — the first duty of friendship being discretion, especially, in suchlike times.

Well, I must own, as many American papers do, that Mr. Wilson's action was somewhat lacking in that tactfulness which is so delightful in friendly intercourse. But I refuse to see in this action an afterthought unfavorable to us, or even an intention favorable to our ennemies (which would seem nos less odious) for I know Mr. Wilson's feelings, tendencies and politics.

The astoundment which his note has given rise to can only be compared to that which he showed himself when he saw that the public opinion in the Allied Nations seemed at first to ascribe this underhand shot to some dark designs. Since then, Mr. Wilson and his newspapers have been doing everything in their power to dispel this impression. One realizes today that he never dreamt to encourage our ennemies ; we may even admit that he thought he was acting in a friendly way towards us.

In that case how can we suppose that a man so experienced as a leader of men could have so grossly ignored our sensitiveness which is so quick particularly where our friends are concerned, and that such a psychologist as he is could have forgotten the « dogmas » of our most popular philosopher who prefers a « wise enemy » to an over zealous friend who throws a stone on your head in order to frighten a fly away.

Such a scholar as is Mr. Wilson cannot either forget Voltaire's words that : « May God keep me from my friends, I will look after my enemies ». This is just the case with the Allies. They can look after their enemies, but we must not allow our friends to take them out of our hands just at the time when they are going to get their punishment.

I knew formerly a boxing master who though he had not read Voltaire, was on this point of his opinion, having definite ideas about his art. He used to say : « If ever you happen to have a quarrel in the street, beware of your friends : in trying to go

between you and the person you are fighting against, they hold your arms, leaving you exposed to the blows of your opponent. »

I do not know if Mr. Wilson practises the noble art, — though I do not doubt that a fighter of his kind has benefited from an athletic education — but I should be surprised if this sportive argument were lost upon his fellow-citiziens, who are very careful like all Anglo-Saxons, to let opponents fight out their quarrels, without intervening, till one of the two is defeated.

Is this just the case for Germany ? then Mr. Wilson's note comes at the right time. It is unseasonable if it be true that Germany, looking at her sinews which still seem strong, refuses to own that she is out of breath and tries to negociate in order to restore her regular breathing.

But, even then, I have the best reasons to believe that Mr. Wilson has not contemplated for a minute the idea of favouring Germany at our expense.

We will return to this subject in a short while, by going into the conditions which brought the reelected president to take this step in a rather bewildering way.

If I mention this, at the beginning of my lecture, it is in order to do away with the notion, at one time prevalent among the Allies, that it was a sign that America's friendship was on the wane.

It goes without saying that I am only giving my own feeling as it is after a trip to the United-States, in too short a time to study as deeply as I wished those very serious and very important subjects. The « Université des Annales » asked me, as soon as I returned home, to come here and deliver this lecture about my trip to America. When I accepted it was a few days before the two striking events which have taken place : i.e. the German suggestions of peace and the American note. The ground has become dangerous. I will tread it carefully. It will be all the worse for me alone if I am hurt in the process.

In order to minimize my chances of making mistakes, I will endeavour to place facts and figures rather than appreciations before you.

The help that the American nation is giving us (once for all it is understood that when I speak of America or of the American nation I mean only the United-States of North-America — this is only for convenience and because it is customary) is manifold and goes in different directions.

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Despite the risk of drawing a smile from who see only in the game of life a series of facts, I will set first and foremost the moral encouragement given us by the passionate approval of all social leaders, who admire boundlessly the self-renouncement with which our people stand a war started with the aim of crushing Serbia and violating Belgium. They are enthusiastic over the wonderful feats of those who fought on the Marne, on the Yser, and at Verdun, and this coming from a nation that appreciates nothing more than courage and tenacity, is very comforting to us. In a war fought for Justice and Right, it is allowed to make much of the « imponderables » as Bismarck said, and we must own that he was not lenient towards a policy of feelings.

We must not however imagine that the whole of America is exalted for our cause : in the East, in one part of California, in the Southern States that remember the time when they were French, the greater part of the population is passionately with us. In the Middle-West, where the great farmers live, there is no hostility against us but we are hardly known at all ; the people are wrongly informed about the causes of the war and its important facts — on account of the wonderful activity of the German propaganda in these regions. Several American papers value at over a hundred million francs the amount of its expenses, I mean the expenses for propaganda alone — besides which there is a *budget for outrages*. For Count Bernstorff's agents are not content with their German words — which still take in some people like certain low-class advertising that manages to slip in impudently here and there. They add action, and what an action !

After the Austrian ambassador Dumba and the German naval attaché von Pappen, expelled by the American government ; after the revelations made by the agent called Graves, one of the Embassy's favorite detectives, here are some fresh news about the diplomatic activity of the Central Empires in the United-States : the Federal Court of Washington has just returned a verdict of « culpability » against the German general consul Franz Bopp, the vice-consul von Schack, the lieutenant Wilhelm von Brincken, military attaché, a certain Charles Cronel, detective and a Mrs Cornill his accomplice. The inculpation mentioned an organization for blowing up ammunition factories in the United-States and Canada, ships and railways. This was found out quite lately. The Reuter dispatch which brought the news ower was sent on January 13th ; — its sender adds with a phlegmatic calm that the « government is studying the question of asking Germany to recall those officials who have criminally made bad use of their function ».

This is in what terms one of the best newspapers, the *New-*

York Sun spoke of the consul's action : « From now on the condemnation of a German general consul does not surprise any one more than a verdict of culpability returned against a confirmed criminal. »

Our representatives are more reserved, and I do not think I will hurt them by saying that they do not much more propaganda than outrages.

The fact of being cautious is meritorious, or at least refined and elegant, and it avoids us the many protests that follow up the diplomatic agents of the Central Empires, most of which have been caught red handed handling explosives. It deserves us undoubtedly flattering homages like the one that at the La Fayette banquet where I had the honour to sit, one of America's greatest orators, Mr. James Beck, made of our ambassador Mr. Jusserand who during his prolonged stay in Washington has so cleverly managed to promote love and esteem for our country, hitherto so little known.

« The ambassador, said Mr. James Beck, has never, at any time, misused the hospitality of the country where he fills this important post. On this point his behaviour might be set as example to one at least of the diplomats in Washington who seem to our eyes rather slow to start for his country where he will meet again his former zealous subordinates. »

This acknowledgement is well deserved ; would it be less so if, with the Embassy's agreement, the eminent and staunch men who direct our information service endeavoured to arrange with a few well-known French personalities who would not refuse despite the hardships of the trip, that they should go to the United-States — especially in the Western States where we are so little and so badly known — not in order to create agitation, but to open before the people's eyes the numerous notes of the great Cause we are fighting for against the Huns.

It would even be indispensable to make known to populations who ignore it — do not think I am exagerating — that when France declares she shall not lay down the arms till the time when Alsace will have become French once more, it is not that she aims at a conquest — like one tries to make the good Middle-Westerners believe, — but the legitimate restitution which she expect fromthis war in which she has been drawn by sheer force I was strongly impressed by this extraordinary state of mind, when I went to America. The last German note, in which the cynicism of the Berlin chancery make us out to be conquerors confirms the tendencies of this unbelievable propaganda which would soon become dangerous if one did not endeavour to fight against the German lies.

The appearance upon the scene of abbé Wetterlé or Mr. Blumenthal, protesting deputies, would certainly bring to the ground those infamies and those who invent them. Men like Bergson or Boutroux — so highly esteemed by all who think and study — one of our bishops from a martyr-town would do holy work by showing to the earnest and well meaning hearts of many willing Americans whose minds have been poisoned, the high reasons of the fight we mean to lead « to the finish ».

If I insist on this point, it is because it does not affect only my personal feeling, but because I am sure of answering the wish of our compatriots living in America, who in accordance with our best friends over there, entreat us not to rest on the justness of our cause in face of adversaries so active as the millions of German-Americans for whom any means are good in order to find judges against justice.

One of the Frenchmen best informed about North America where he has travelled over and over again and who has some relations there, wrote to me, a few days ago :

« Do not make too much of the sympathy shown us in the large towns, in the clubs, in the high financial and industrial circles and in the well-to-do middle class, especially in the East, for when one stays for some time, as I have done, in the small towns and in the country, among the rural democracy, one often hears another chord. »

It finds echo in some working-unions, and, this is no less serious, a strange wind of doctrinal pacifism blows since some time in certain intellectual groups, where one sets to work to try and beat down the great protest that arose from all the Universitarian circles against the torturers of Belgium.

This is where the German peace still finds supporters, which the unpleasantness of the task seems to have lead on to the game — a game truly inferior to the traditional aspirations of the American high-culture.

On the other hand how passionately convincing, how warmly eloquent, how highly religious are the united voices of the most beloved priests of the American churches when they cry out against a pacifism as unfair as it would be dangerous. Listen to the protestant Bishops' protest, which the eloquent rector of the American Colony's temple in Paris, the Reverend Mr. Watson, explained lately in the review *France-Amérique*, after having, in a splendid sermon delivered on Christmas Day, brought shame on the bad Christians who would prefer the ease and benefits of a fruitful neutrality to the duties of an expiatory war. He preached the pure doctrine of Christ offering peace upon earth at the price

of an unceasing war against crime and forbidding his disciples to enjoy that peace as long as the evil-doer is not brought to the ground.

It is true that the triennal Congress of Protestant Bishops of the United-States has sent to the congregations a message meant to be read from the pulpit and commented upon in every temple, which evokes solemnly the great cardinal Mercier, whose justiciary words against the Huns' pacifism resounded through the whole Christian world. The Bishops entreat their congregations to listen to the Belgian prelate when this mandatory of the God of Justice proclaims that the Church places the respect of Right before the invaluable feeling of universal fraternity ; when he asserts, after saint Thomas of Aquin, that public prosecution is a necessary vertue and that as long as crime remains unpunished the conscience of the righteous is up in arms ; when he remarks that the spirit of the Jewish Law was alike, from what we read in the « imprécations » of the Prophete and the Psalmist's hymns.

And such is also the feeling of the reverend Dr Manning of *Trinity Church*, when he calls upon his compatriots to accomplish the Act of Faith that Christ's teachings command, « that, far from enticing us to live in peace with the wicked, orders us to fight against their misdeeds. »

This is absolutely the same thing as colonel Roosevelt's doctrine, when he wishes chivalrous America to go to the help of desecrated justice and trodden-down Humanity, in his book where religious faith and patriotism unit all their earnest forces. *Fear God and take your part* ! One finds in the first pages, those words spoken by Abraham Lincoln during the War against slavery : « Set yourself on the side of Right !... If you do not uphold those who stand for it, you fail to do your duty as a man, as an American.» Through this great stateman's tenacity, the United-States were saved in the dark hours when, holding out against the feeling of a people down-hearted by the long duration of the fight, he refused to contemplate the possibilities of a hasty peace which would only have delayed the scourge of civil war, by making things last indefinitely. Paying homage to the Allies' steadfast resolution, who do not admit that their dead should have given their life in vain, Mr. Roosevelt lodges a protest against the nefarious efforts of the pacifists, who are the unconscious auxiliaries of those who profit from the war. « Those men who believe themselves the servants of God are the followers of Baal. »

Suchlike exhortations have a great influence on a young nation whose ideals tends towards mysticism and shows itself generally through a very deep and active religious faith They

easily got the best of all the cunningness of Bernstorff's propaganda ; they oppose serenely the advent of a Christian peace, based on the respect and love of ones' brethren, to the barbarian idea of humanity reduced to slavery by the warlike hord whose ideal finds vent in the shocking prayer made up by Pastor Philip, of Berlin, and published in a german periodical the *Reform* :

« We have entered the third year of war and however I say : « God be blessed for having allowed this war to break out ! God « be blessed for having prevented premature peace ! I will « repeat : Blessed be God who has let loose this war, because no « other thing in the world, except war, could have assured the « salvation of the german people ! »

If this frantic invocation of the greatest calamity that ever befell the inhabited planets had sprung from the exalted soul of one of the Allies, you can guess with what speed the Imperial propaganda would hasten to let all the neutrals hear of its disgraceful expression. I would like to think that our information press service will not let the sincere pacifists of the New-Continent ignore it.

We do not fail to render homage to the generosity of their intentions, when they try, meaning well, to come to the help of the victims of the german aggression by stopping the slaughter, and this at the very time when the bleeding victim, springing up anew with the utmost energy, catches the criminal at the throat, firmly resolved not to let go as long as civilization will not be avenged ; they do not fully realize the unfairness that would be done by those who, putting an end to the fight under such conditions, would draw the culprit away from immanent justice and allow him to renew his crimes.

More numerous and more influential, but no less to be feared, are the realistic minds who derive their inspiration from a series of studies published by the *New York Times* before Mr. Wilson's note which, as every one knows, happened to be sent just at the same time as Bethmann Hollweg's last move : i.e. before the outbreak of german anger brought about by the Allies' answer. The writer expressed the feeling that very soon Germany, having lost the game, would see the advantage of ending it without losing in a fight which would mean ruin for her. He started from this point. « The fulfilment of Germany and Austria's great aims has been put out of question by their common defeat, which is now as clearly evident and as sure as if it had been recognized by a treaty. » He added that all the attempts to which answered the

war let loose by Imperialism having turned against him, he fought now only in order to hide as long as possible the disaster from the german people. It being impossible to prolong this situation, the writer of the *New-York Times* pretended to think that the vital interest of the Central Empires would compel them before long to make necessary concessions before the force of facts. These significant appreciations of the most important American paper which is well known to be in relation with Mr. Wilson, and coming, if one believes the english *Times*, from a former member, of his government, preceded only shortly the note to the belligerent powers. Are we entitled to think that they were meant to prepare our minds to what was coming ? They were nevertheless astounded.

At any rate, they express in words which we like to remember, an unbiassed opinion of the actual conditions of the world-wide fight.

This opinion, coming from one of the observation posts best placed to examine the respective positions of the parties, is encouraging to us.

Is it not comforting, at the time when Mr. Wilson's note speaks of peace, or at least of the conditions in which it is conceivable, to hear the leading press of the United-States — apart from the black and yellow press — cry out to us with all its might :

« Hold on ! ! ! The time is near when you will have the best of them ! »

And here is again, coming from the pen of Mr. Murray Butler, President of Columbia, one of the highest standards of American thought, a no less optimistic appreciation. I take it from yesterday's paper :

« I cannot foretell what the year 1917 will bring, but unless all our informations concerning the revictualling of Germany are false, the people of that Empire *must break down in the following six months.* If the Germans do not succeed *in frightening the Allies into an inconclusive peace* during that space of time, *the former will I believe, be forced to surrender without conditions* and to accept the new order of things for which the Allies are fighting, which, if it is established, will open a new era in the history of Europe and of humanity.

One knows in what way the generous country I have just been through gives proof of her sympathy for the people who are fighting for Right with all their forces and resources, and gives

them every encouragement. Do you know what was at the beginning of the present year the amount of United-States' gifts ? Exactly 28 millions 986 thousand dollars, or almost 150 millions francs, according to the official report issued by the Carnegie Institute and published by the monthly review of the « Comité France-Amérique », the greater part of these funds were sent to help the Allies.

In a thrilling lecture which Mr. Millerand gave at the Sorbonne, he made known by a very long list of names — which one did not tire to hear — the most important charitable associations by which our friends from over the Ocean have given proof of their interest in our cause ; he could not do more than call attention to the most beautiful of all, the *Association for the French Orphans of the War*, which was then being made up under Mr. William D. Guthrie's patronage and which means to give for the education of poor French Orphans a sum of 650 millions of francs — you have noted my words : I say almost three quarters of a milliard.

Besides these colossal sums which are raised by splendid efforts of human solidarity, one must notice the untiring activity that so many men and women belonging to all classes and conditions put at the disposal of all these associations so useful to our wounded, our refugees, the populations of those parts of Belgium and France that are invaded, the over-numerous miseries of the victime of those which the English have called Huns. One must particurlarly be thankful for the wonderful practical sense of organization, the careful handling that a few choice business — men apply in view of getting the most out of these bountiful undertakings, the model of which seems to be the *War Relief Clearing House*, managed by some of the most important men of the United-States and whose Paris Comittee is wonderfully organized and untiringly effective.

And among these many proofs of a brotherly zeal, for which we will never show enough gratitude, is there anything more touching than the brave and nobly unassuming zeal of those young Americans who, remembering La Fayette's words which Mr. Millerand mentioned a few days ago : « At the first news of the American war my heart enlisted ! » have left in great numbers their country, their families, their interests or their studies — for many of them belong to the Universities — in order to enlist in our Aviation, in the Foreign Legion, or one of those splendid Ambulances for the front which Mr. Piatt Andrew, the well known economist, former Under-Secretary for the Treasury, manages so well. I was on the same boat as he was, returning to France and he brought over with him about forty young recruits. As soon as

they landed, they took rank among their comrades at the front who carry our wounded under the worst fire and bombardment without taking heed of the danger which surrounds them, whilst so many brave compatriots on their airships are accomplishing every day glorious feats, the usefulness and efficiency of which are fully appreciated by our aviators. Several of them whose names will be remembered for ever, Chapman, Norman Prince, Richard Hall, Alan Seegers fell in our ranks, others have perished in the Foreign Legion where they enlisted by hundreds, when the German army, as I was told, did not count more than « two » Americans.

One of the first who where killed is René Phelizott, of Chicago ; when the young man, who had fallen under our banners, was taken up to be buried, they found on his breast the starred flag of his country ; his most intimate friends did not know that he had been hiding it there, near his heart, through ingenious modesty of patriotic devotion. One of his brother-at-arms took for himself the sacred emblem which testifies the passionate conviction of those who serve their country while mingling their blood with ours.

The greater part of those young men had just left the University. I even met one of them, in the Piatt Andrew Ambulance, who went on leave, against his will, to finish his studies at Harvard, after fifteen months of active service. This veteran was sixteen years old.

From an interesting article in the last number of the *Revue des Deux-Mondes* I take the following lines of Mr. Anatole Le Braz who knows wonderfully well the spirit of those American high schools where he had the honour to teach.

« The worship of France has become a dogma in most of the Colleges on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean ; and they are not satisfied with celebrating them by platonic cheers or by wrapping up in the French colours lions *made in Germany* ! « I do not think that any of our Transatlantics come back from New-York without having on board some motor-car for the ambulances, this being the contribution of an American College to the sublime labour of the French. And those cars do not travel alone ; they are accompanied by a squad of voluntary attendants who during several months have been saving money in order to cover the expenses of the expedition and who have found time enough, notwithstanding their studies, to undergo the necessary training. A great many of them, on leaving America do not know more than three words of our language, always the same, which are being repeated from one end of the United-States to the other,

like a formula of magic spell : « La belle France ! » But on the way, on deck, you might happen to attend to some class in the open air and far out at sea, where the « boys » with intent faces repeat over and over again the indispensable scraps of conversation. And this tedious task to which they bind themselves *in extremis* shows better than anything else how determined they are to devote themselves to our cause. »

« I mean to be able to hold conversation with your wounded when I am nursing them » told me one of these young university crusaders. « A helping hand is not enough ; I wish to be able to use heartfelt words. »

I can vouch the veracity of this sketch.

These young men, who come over to fight by our side without understanding our language — a gesture is enough to show feeling — awake the remembrance of La Fayette's French companions among whom the luckiest, those who were learned, had to use Latin in their intercourse with some of their brother-at-arms. There is sign of this at every page of their Memoirs and letters. Here is an instance taken from the war notes of one of the greatest University men of the time — I translate it from Mr. Jusserand's book (1).

« *October 7th* 1770. — Splendid dinner with general Rochambeau. I spoke with him in Latin, he speaks tolerably well. »

Rochambeau in his youth had gone in for clerical studies.

One of his lieutenants called Silly, wrote to an english officer : *Inglicam linguam noscere conabor.* In these far away times, interpreters were fewer in the army than nowadays.

All these proofs of friendship and confidence are deeply gratifying to us — but one cannot forget that the United-States have served even more efficiently the Allied cause by sending goods and money.

You will probably ask if these parts of the balance-sheet of our transatlantic intercourse must figure under the heading of friendship, and if their place is not rather under that of interest. This is absolutely fair, but I would like you to notice that, till now, thank God ! interest followed the same lines as friendship. We hope, we wish that this happy combination may last for a long time to come. One must, however, keep in mind Washington's

(1) *Wan Americans of past and present days.*

wise and earnest words and remember that his realistic politics always allowed feeling to fill its part in the first place ; nevertheless he remarked in 1778 that « it is a saying based on universal experience of humanity that there exists no nation on which one can count outside of the limits of her interests, and a wise Statesman will not deter from this principle ! »

Let us examine objectively from this standpoint, without thinking of the United-States' position in the universal war such as it appears from what we know. A very remarkable study which came out unsigned in the *Correspondant* gave us a few days ago some interesting figures, taken from some official reports and giving the precise meaning of Mr. Morgenthau noisy declaration (Mr. Morgenthau is one of the most prominent American diplomats and one of the most considered and most active of the president's representatives).

« Our national wealth, said he, has been increased in two years of 41 milliards of dollars — over 200 milliards de francs. » A report even more recent, the circular of the Comittee for the Survey of the National Banks, stated in a less precise way but in terms even more striking for those who are not used to such enormous figures that the United-States had got richer in two years of more than seemed possible for several generations. This is what the said Mr. Morgenthau, praising the Wilsonian policy, stated in a phrase even more tasty by saying that his country « basked superbly in its good time ! »

« Alas ! poor country ! » sigh the economists of the Dernburg school — Mr. Dernburg was, let it be remembered, one of the pioneers of the german rationalism, I mean short allowance. One knows that this master in the art of propaganda endeavors since some time to show to the Americans the dark side of the prosperity they derive from the european war. He deigns to own that the United-States have drained in less than two years more than half the quantity of gold of the world ; but he does not condescend to see in this flood which so many countries would look upon as being as fertilizing as those of the Nile, anything but a dreaded cataclysm : depreciation of salaries, rise in the cost of life ; we know the story. Since a long time the bochophiles of the Middle-West tell this story to the housewives, who are ever ready to become indignant about a rise of twenty or thirty per cent on the price of eggs or fowl, small ransom of the rise of their men'ssalaries, of the goods and of all the forms of reward of national industry, in accordance with the principle of the circulation of wealth, whose pulse sends the blood at every point of a well built organism at short notice. Coming after Seneca, after the Fathers of the Church

preaching the lure of wealth, the Dernburg's epistle to the victims of the Pactolus flood ! How can it be answered except by an ironical disdain. After all, was not that Mr. Dernburg wiser not to complain ?

According to a statement made in June 1915, by Dr Pratt, director of the Office for Foreign and inland Trade, the amount of the American stocks in Europe at the time of the outbreak of the war was £ 1.400 millions ; on the other hand, the European stocks in the United-States only amounted to 200 millions, which left 1.200 millions for America's debt to Europe. In order to make the best of this situation, the American treasury issued at short notice bank-notes and certificates for $ 596 millions ; in a few months, at least, 5 millions had re-entered the public funds.

It would be interesting to know the part owed to the benefits derived from the war supplies in the increase of the country's wealth. This is hard to sum up ; nevertheless the *Westminster Gazette*, although drawing the limit at the direct and immediate profits on goods, outside of the advances in money to the belligerents which reach over 5 milliards francs, values at £ 400 millions or 10 milliards francs the increase in value of foreign trade ; it would only be, on the whole, the tenth part of the general increase in value, but even that would mean 100 francs per inhabitant ; the remainder derived from the inland business which was increasingly prosperous in the years that preceded the war.

I must make on this subject a remark which seems to me important : according to many manufacturers and business men with whom I have talked on this question, America, at the time of the outbreak of the war, was on the eve of an economical crisis which frightened awfully the business-world. This crisis was brought about by many causes, the most conspicuous being the over-production of the great factories ; their plant hat been immoderately developed and the output was far beyond the needs of the inland market, whilst the foreign outlets had been neglected ; on one hand, speaking from an economic point of view, the grim-looking protectionism which enclosed in a kind of Chinese wall a great country of 100 millions inhabitants used to live on itself and for itself, outside of the export of certain goods such as cotton and wheat, could only loosen itself by tariffs; on the other hand, from a practical point of view, this country had neglected to equip a mercantile fleet, outside of the inland navigation on the Great Lakes and the Great Rivers where the tonnage is of considerable importance.

The tragic unloosening of the german armies came at the right time to offer to America the eager practise of belligerents

whose supremacy on sea enabled them to go and fetch across the Atlantic Ocean unlimited quantities of manufactured goods, steel in particular, of which the United-States were even then the greatest manufacturers in the world ; they turned out as much steel as Germany, France and England.

The demand for steel in foreign countries became, from one day to the next, unquenchable. Both groups of belligerents needed it, but owing to the fact that the Allies commanded the high seas, they alone could get it delivered. Was America going to refuse it, because the Imperials could not enjoy the same advantage ? This was Germany's opinion, or at least her pretension. Mr. Wilson would not admit it, his legal mind could not be mistaken there : he did not refuse the goods to anyone, it would be all the worse for those who were not in condition to receive it. It is thus that, his conscience being satisfied, he gave satisfaction to the aims of the national industry by declaring lawful the required supplies.

And so it was that the shortage so justly feared gave way, as by a miracle, before a crisis of unheard of prosperity. Mr. Wilson's re-election has greatly benefited from this situation ; the democratic populations, namely those of the west, were grateful towards him for several reasons :

1° For having been wise enough to allow the national industries to get richer notwithstanding the protests and threats of the German government ;

2° For having been clever enough to encourage the wonderful development of national wealth without departing from a strict neutrality.

It is known that those who upheld his candidateship posted from one end to the other of the country this vexing motto : « Peace through prosperity », or this one : « He has avoided leading us into war ». He was acclaimed as the peace president and the *Correspondant* mentions the fact that according to a prominent New-York paper, there was a kind of religious ardour in the shouts of « Be blessed » which many women voiced with tears in their eyes on his way through the towns.

It is under these conditions that Mr. Wilson was reelected by one half of the United-States' electors, with a very small majority which was even doubtful for a short time, so much so that during 24 hours his opponent, Mr. Hughes, was considered elected. The other half of the electors declared themselves, without any weakness, but with an unshakable firmness, against peace at any cost ; they said that as greata country as the United-States must find in peace, besides immediate prosperity, dignity and safety.

Supporting the candidate were the most eminent statesmen,

like colonel Roosevelt, Mr. Elihu Root, Mr. Chauncey Depew, Mr. Taft, Mr. Choate and the greater part of the most influential papers.

It seems obvious that the president, elected under such exceptional conditions, will have to keep strictly in mind this division of the moral energies of the country into two groups almost equivalent ; that his foreign policy will have to follow a line resulting from the play of these antagonistic forces and that he cannot think of departing, without the public quietness running great risks, from the action of one of these components.

Assuredly he does not contemplate doing otherwise, and the cleverness with which he has made use in the first four years of his government of some of the bestfounded claims, of his opponents' bill, — not in order to talk them over but to realize them — leads us to believe that the peace president, which means peace for America, is not a man who would neglect anything that would add to this prosperous peace the moral or material guarantees that are indispensable.

Before his reelection — this fact is not enough known out here or is on way of being forgotten — Mr. Wilson gave proof of the sincerity of his pacifism by getting in a few days a vote for opening credits for a widespread military programme and for the naval programme that is going to make the United-States' fighting navy the largest in the world after that of Great-Britain. This scheme will be performed in three years, during each of which 1 milliard 575 millions will be spent ; in the same time, a yearly budget of 1 milliard 325 millions is destined to the building of an army worthy of the wealth and might of the United-States. Those two credits put together were equal to 51 0/0 of the budget of receipts of the state. The realization of the naval programme had at first been divided in five years. Since the battle of the Jutland, which brought such glory to the English navy, the delay was reduced to three years.

This rapidity of armament — in a period when one hears of nothing but disarmament in the dreams of those who wish to build up Future Society, does not tend to show that America is willing to allow her safety or her dignity to be exposed.

Mr. Wilson has done even more and better work than starting a naval programme ; he has placed the American navy in the purely military situation which becomes; to it by drawing it away from political influences, against which Rear-Admiral

Bradley Fiske wrote such a virulent study, part of which was published in the *Correspondant* :

« The most dangerous foe of the United-States is not Germany nor Japan, it is the American politician. It is neither the army nor the fleet of some foreign power which we must fear, for it belongs to us to have an army or a fleet superior to theirs ; what we must fear is the politician who prevents us from getting the necessary army and fleet, by convincing the people that such an army and such a navy will bring about the horrid thing he calls militarism. » And the admiral adds : « History teaches us that no country has ever been able to keep up her its greatness without a military feeling. Those who have left out the military form have fallen to pieces. »

Mr. Wilson, by supporting the pioneers of this energetic action, has shown that he was not and would not be in future a prisoner of those politicians who are nefarious to all the big countries and who, by their clumsy and often underhanded zeal for peace, drive them into war by preventing them from preparing for it — which almost means preventing it.

O truly ! politicians are one of the most troublesome scourge of the sister Republic ; they are legion out there ; their trade has become as huge as the other forms of national activity, the democrats have Tammany Hall, the republicans have the Machine, formidable organisms whose steering gears are in the hands of hidden people of incredible authority ! These are two powerful gods, as a poet said.

North-America cannot envy anything to our luckiest southern departments in the way of parliamentary eloquence. You could not find five and twenty people dining or lunching together without hearing half a dozen speeches in which an untoward flow of speech is noticeable. There are good speakers, among the American politicians, but they talk too much. We must say in their favour that this does not prevent them from acting ! Lucky country ! Mr. Wilson who is one of the best orators, knows wonderfully how to handle the audiences. Whilst his discursive power is to our best speaking-machines like the Niagara is to the Fall in the Bois de Boulogne, he has constantly appeared as a realizer ; it was even sometimes, when attempting in a clever and even somewhat cunning way to borrow from the opposition its most noticeable claims in order to realize them. This is not what we call « Sacred Unity », or at least it is only a naughty deformation of it, but it is no less advantageous for the country.

We must not minimize, in spite of the exceptional rights he is entitled to, the difficult task of a president of this Federal Republic which numbers over a hundred million citizens, living not in departments but in States distant by their geographical situation, different from each other by their climate, their customs, their feelings, their interests, where antagonistic races meet without associating, — without forgetting the ten million hyphenateds who do not hide enough their efforts for germanizing their adopted country, — nor the innumerable and untiring Irish whose fighting genius leads them to ferocious reprisals on the New Continent at the expense of England, whilst myriades of Polish refugees endeavour to do the same thing against Holy Russia. Add to this some formidable social organizations hidden or not, and the 20 millions of travaillists which Mr. Gompers pretends to enlist in the service of pacific interventionism, and, worse than all this, a few brotherboods of theorists of the world's equilibrium, with brains full of idle fancies and utopiae. It needs a politician of extremedeftness to move among all these incongruous and heterogenous collectivities and, if not to satisfy all of them — one cannot content every one in one's boss! — at least pacify them one after the other in an appropriate way.

This awkward situation gives rise to anxiety among our friends : it is thus that one of the most prominent New-York barristers, Mr. Coudert, who is one of the leaders of the republican party, writes :

« America must decide without delay if she is really a constituted country, wishing to stand up for the rights of her citiziens and to guarantee everywhere the free exercise thereof, or if the is only an incoherent juxtaposition of incongruous and recalcitrants elements, whose bad harmony, publicly owned, can only give bad renown, which becomes daily worse, on the honour of America till now so proudly untouched. »

From a diplomatic standpoint it is undeniable that Mr. Wilson has gone to the extreme limit of verbal concessions, but it is no less true that his notes on the submarine war, written in his usual clever juridical way, have gained their point. Well, it is not new to you that the submarine affair is the momentous question between Washington and Berlin — and nobody doubts that Mr. Lansing's words : « America is on the brink of war » alluded to it. We are thus driven to speak of the note on peace — this is a very embarrassing subject and I would like to tread with utmost care, but how can I avoid mentioning, in speaking of American friendship, at the time being, a step which has awakened through

the world such a deep feeling, feeling which was almost uncomfortably painful for the Allies.

This feeling was not only provoked by the fact that at the exact time when Germany gave signs of her need of peace whithout offering possibilities thereon, the government of Washington ventured to speak about it, in a most discreet way, assuredly, but when a conversation on this subject did not seen desirable to the defendors of Belgium who still hold to cardinal Mercier's sublime words. You have read them undoubtedly, they have been printed over and over again, but I think well to repeat them once more.

When he went to Rome, where Berlin was already trying on the pacific manœuvre, the holy and brave archbishop of Malines found himself suddenly face to face, in a passage of the Vatican, with a German, cardinal Hartmann.

As the sorely tried apostle of the Belgian martyrdom drew away, turning his head away, the redrobed Hun, without seeming to notice this repulsive gesture of the victim facing its tormentor, said in low but reassuring and protective tones :

« We will not speak of the war. »

Hearing those words Mgr Mercier, having scanned disdainfully on him, went his way, saying :

« We shall not speak of peace. »

It was necessary that these words should be heard, not only by all Christiandom, but from one end to the other of the civilized world. They mean that we have no right to think of peace as long as justice is not satisfied and that we are not willing to speak of it with the one who wants to find there the consecration of his crime.

Nobody could dream that Mr. Wilson, whose christian faith is foremost among his feelings, could be indifferent to these highly moral considerations ; the idea of an unjust and inhuman peace could certainly no longer find room among his designs however great is his wish to stop a bloodshed among whose most pitiful victims he placed America.

But all the Allies experienced a real stupefaction on seing that he seemed to give as much consideration to either group of belligerents. It was evidently a mistake when, on the faith of a message which did not give enough consideration to the most respectable feelings, one made of a plain *citation* a moral assimilation; this message was systematically written in the rigid style of this kind of writ, where the jurist endeavors not to point any difference between the parties.

Of course, a jurist must not obviously point a difference,

before the debate, between the litigants who come before him, and whatever be his previous feeling, following the reading of the notes, he must not attempt to decline, and say to one : « My dear sir, sit down here », and to the other : « You are the rascal, put yourself there ».

There is however a way of pointing a difference ; Mr. Wilson has taken no heed of it ; this is a matter of temperament. He is phlegmatic ; his composure is unshaken, his patience knows no limit and he ignores the small susceptibilities which are so deep for some people, as well the highly-strung ones as the sanguines. He is obviously neither one thing nor the other. He was thus very much surprised to see that one had misjudged his inner feeling, despite the many proofs he had given without ever departing from the attitude commanded by strict neutrality.

This prejudice about the form being effaced there remained the meaning of the note ; it has been interpreted in many ways as is the case with every oracle, when they are rendered following sacred rules. For my part I flatly refuse to see in it the slightest intention of favoring the tormentors of civilization who would to-morrow, if they were allowed to strengthen their position in Europe, place again the New-Continent in danger. When one sees already with what fear the American trade looks upon their submarine offensive, one can guess easily what they would do when they would have the mastery of the seas which they desire more than anything for after the war.

Therein lies for the United-States a question of life or death. If it only meant of short-timed hindrance to their traffic, the matter could be arranged at the cost of a loss more acceptable than the sacrifice of dignity which would necessarily follow upon it. But, it is the very freedom of their transatlantic intercourse which is in question. It is undeniable, and a statesman like Mr. Wilson and like those who surround him, as well as the representatives of the opposition do not entertain the slightest doubt on this point. His deep and sincere love of peace cannot therefore prevent him from holding out against the German pretensions, be it at the cost of a breach the outcome of which would not lead his country into damages equal to the moral benefit of the operation.

But the president of the United-States, however great is his authority, is the head of a government of opinion. He is therefore not entitled to start such serious question of foreign politics as that which has placed his country « on the brink of war », without the support of an almost general feeling. Well a great part of the

american democracy, held in darkness and falsely informed by an untruthful propaganda, — and also incapable of rising to the considerations of a far-reaching policy, — shows unequivocal signs of a growing fondness for an improvident pacifism whose danger it fails to see. How can one overcome this state of mind ?

1° By showing clearly to this earnest but short-sighted population the absurdity of it dreams — by proving this better than by words, i. e. by the evidence of facts ; and the fact is that this peace, desirable for one and all, is impracticable just now, because Germany, though owning the necessity thereof, will not recognize its conditions ;

2° By showing up all at once the political contrivance, clumsily but cunningly hidden under the olive branches by the kaiser and his Bernstorff.

After having firmly established this idea in the peoples'mind, the president will have his hands free to let America's destinies reach their extreme consequences. If a break is the result thereof the president is shielded towards the country to which he has shown the vanity of the delusion of pacifism.

« I have done everything, will he be able to say, to bring about peace upon earth — and sea ; — the force of things has not allowed it to be ! »

Strict equity would that he denounced those responsible of this check to peace, as he ought to have denounced, at the time, those guilty of invasion, but that is not his way. We must not expect it from him ; in return we hope that from now on nothing will keep him from entering into open fight against the submarine piracy, which threatens to check his commercial expansion.

Let us sum up : a large number of profitable orders have been loyally accepted by the American industries, who have taken the engagement of fulfilling them and justly expect the benefits thereof, not having in any way given up the idea of increasing their prosperity. Germany has tried in vain to turn them away from these supplies first by diplomatic intimidation, then, the threat having been ineffective, by acts of violence : the torpedoing of ships by submarines outside of very rule of rights of nations and naval customs which all agree to safeguard the life of non-fighters.

After the sinking of the *Lusitania* and that of the *Sussex*, the government of Washington sent to that of Berlin several notes

whose mild form may have been criticized but which undeniably have reached their aim, which is to prevent the German submarines from torpedoing without warning the passengers' ship.

Months have passed since, but it happened that at the most momentous hours of the fever preceding the presidential election, at a time when Mr. Wilson, uncertain of the result of the vote, cannot possibly start upon a militant policy, some German submarines, one of which had even enjoyed the kind hospitality of an American harbour, go at the outskirts of this harbour, under the very eyes of the crews of the navy — as if meaning to defy it — and sink half-a-dozen ship whose crews are left to all the risks of a hasardous rescuing. At the same time the unofficial press of the Central Empires proclaim that the day has dawned when to start a great submarine offensive and to extend it in order to stop the traffic between the New-Continent and the Allies. This declaration, which is a real declaration of war to the United-States, happens just at the time when the Germans turn out submarines of a new type, built for sailing long and far, for which it is an easy job to work across the Atlantic.

Mr. Wilson lodges, without further delay, a protest in principle to which no definite answer is given. At the same time, he is re-elected. His first act is to go and find our ambassador, on the anniversary day of the statue of Liberty, given by France, and there he utters some far-resounding words, visibly meant for the german imperialism.

Shortly after, he sends his note, strengthened by the comments made by the under-secretary for Foreign Affairs, who says that the United-States are on the « verge of war ». It is just the time when Mr. Gerard regains his post in Berlin. What words does he take there with him ? Some sugar-water declarations good for banquets, the form of which must have been imperfect undoubtedly as they resulted in angering the Germans and the Allies ; it was certainly not what this diplomatist aimed at. Mr. Gerard is not superstitiously attached to the verbal traditions of what we call solemnly « La Carrière ». Although he mentioned cleverly Talleyrand's words that in this profession one must know how to be silent in seven languages this excellent diplomatist has perhaps on that point missed an opportunity of being silent in his own.

After all, one could hardly misunderstand the meaning of his words, when he asserted that the best relations would be maintained between his country and Germany, as long as the latter would be governed by statesmen notoriously opposed to the extension and aggravation of the submarine warfare. That

meant surely that if the opposite doctrine got the upper hand, all friendly intercourse would be at an end.

In its limited amiability this declaration was commiuatory : or at least conditional ; to those who understand, it meant that Mr. Gerard had got assurances of a milder form of torpedoing than that considered inadmissible by his government, and that if these new guarantees were not observed a break would ensue.

Here as signs that peace will be ensured for the time being — I was going to say re-established — between the United-States and the Central Empires, if not between the belligerent powers.

Has the German government given in ?... He pretends to give up for the time being the idea of preventing by force America to send over to the Allies the goods for which she has taken orders. He gives it up provisionally but with a restrictive condition, somewhat in Constantin's manner. Here is an accommodation in which I would not have much more faith than in that of the husband of the german-born beautiful Helena.

Nobody ignores, particularly Americans, that the german ship-yards are working strenuously upon the building of a great number of submersibles of a new type, thanks to which they expect to render sea-voyages impossible to Allied ships or those belonging to neutral powers and carrying cargoe for the Allies ; this is the biggest effort of all German war industries ; in a few months, if her plan is realized, she will be able to deprive us of certain advantages of the mastery of the seas.

« But, let us see !... » as old master Rabelais used to say. This is a case where intention must not be in accordance with fact. Before assuring his subjects of the mastery of the seas, the kaiser had already solemnly promised them Paris, Calais, Verdun, and even Petrograd... It only remains to him to promise them food ; unfortunately for him, nobody believes in him any longer, especially not his own people who would much prefer living on a plentiful dish than on the fine words of his proclamations.

It is nevertheless true that the United-States' government would enter a dangerous path if it was content with fine words, whilst the Berlin knave is getting something ready in his shipyards that will deal a serious blow to transatlantic communications. It would then be too late to find out that with a German, one must never rely upon the faith of a treaty — this is where one sees between the two groups of belligerents a difference that Mr. Wilson has wrongly considered as a negligible quantity.

Mr. Gerard, who is lacking neither in judgment nor in acuteness, admits undoubtedly nowadays lord Salisbury's wisdom, when, speaking of the uncertainty of the connections with the Wilhelmstrasse, he advised those people who might have to partake of the devil's supper to take with them long-handled spoons. We have read several times lately that Mr. Gerard, on returning to Germany, had taken with him four tons of food given him by thoughtful friends ; we feel sure that he has very wisely added to this some forks and spoons of adequate size for the meals where he will sit by people who are not even as good as the devil, to say the least of them !

The wires do not mention the bill of fare of these banquets ! Be sure that they were not lacking in anything that the most ingenious chemist could devise, neither the tabloïd broth, or the synthetical fish, or the « soufflé-surprise à la Batocki », the beverages being some imitation beer and champagne made in Munich. This is perhaps palatable, but « it is not filling » as country-people say ; one can imagine Mr. Gerard on his return at the embassy, diving into his food-store, brought over from his native land, and saying in low and despondent tones :

> At Bethmann's banquet unfortunate guest,
> I appeared one evening and am dying... with hunger ! (1)

Well, here is a motto for the Central powers bound to ultimate starving through the folly of this kaiser whose supremes convulsions are giving us a tragical comedy : this frantic agitation that goes suddenly from rage to emotion and from entreaty to threat, reminds one of the awful end of Nero when in his villa at Phaon he fingered over and over again the blade that was going to cut his throat open. Between his cowardly tears and his satanical laugh, he found room for a cynical sentence on the crimes of humanity, and there were his last words. Remember the kaiser's ranting on the horrors of war in his last epistle.

In this same way the Antechrist will soon be seen the last of twenty centuries later. What a ominous mounte bank he will have been !

Do you remember the short funeral oration that Renan wrote about him :

« Imagine a man about as reasonable as Mr. Victor Hugo's heroes, a carnival puppet, something between a madman, a ninompoop and an actor, endowered with unlimited power and entrusted with the charge of ruling the world. »

(1) Au banquet de Bettmann, infortuné convive,
J'apparus un soir et je meurs... de faim.

He will not rule over it : the Marne, the Yser and Verdun have shut up before him the land routes, as have done also our great Allies in Italy and Russia. The surface of the Atlantic Ocean is forbidden him by the British Fleet. It remains to be seen if the submarine mastery will be allowed him.

This new question is no less serious for the new continent as the old. Let us hope in the American friendship to help us in solving it, in our common interest.

But let us not forget to consider as regards the attitude of the United-States' government the superior obligation that keeps its friendship within the limits of the Washington formula : it is a well-ordered friendship which must necessarily begin at home. Let us rejoice that the force of things carries the destinies of the great over-sea Republic along the same lines as ours and that we can hope that these destinies will in future come ever nearer ours, till the desirable time when they will be able to meet, in order to ensure the fight for the freedom of nations against piracy.

Let us rejoice also in the certainty that no misunderstanding is to be feared between the American government and ours, under the necessity of ensuring peace to the world ; let us refer to president Poincaré's declarations to an american journalist, Mr. Marshall, declarations that are published to-day by the whole press of the United-States :

« It will not be from us that will come any resistance against president Wilson's generous ideas about international agreements for after the war, in order to ensure the fulfilment of engagements. We take sides very willingly with his noble intentions. But if the agreements are to bring about good results, one must begin by restoring violated rights, and forewarning Europe against a peace that would carry with it a germ of new outrages. »

This will be our conclusion.

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